

Interview H0214: Urgyen [tib. o rgyan], (India, 1983) : Part No. 5 of 9

The interviewee was a well-known Drepung Loseling monk who at one time held the powerful position of Chagdampa. On this tape he discusses how Kapshöba was involved in the Khyungram incident and about the Pandatsang incident. He also discusses in detail about the Laji office and the Tratsang and Khamtsen structure in Drepung and how all the monastic officials like the Shengo, Chagdampa and Geyog were appointed.

I heard that [Kapshöba](#) instigated the [Khyungram](#) trouble. [Kapshöba](#) made the Horpa [the nomads from the north] submit a petition which was endorsed by Reting. This was just a pretext. The main reason why Reting didn't like [Khyungram](#) was because Khungram said that some are, "Not full even after eating the mountain" [tib. ri [bo](#) zos nas ma 'grangs].

Q

Who was Töpa Khenpo [tib. stod pa mkhan po]?

A

He was the pockmarked one who was from [Sera Je](#) College.

Q

Wasn't there a lot of trouble when Reting Rinpoche was about to appoint the Töpa Khenpo something and the Sera monks didn't accept that?

A

Yes. He was about to appoint a Töpa Khenpo to a position in the [Sera Me](#) College or something [as abbot]. I am sure about that.

Q

Did you say that on the day when the [Pandatsang](#) issue was settled, the Trungtsi entered his house?

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A

Yes. It was certainly the Trungtsi, because I saw that they were wearing their red robes [tib. kha gon].

Q

You said that [Pandatsang](#) gave [khata](#) scarves to the soldiers and then the soldiers went back through the [Barkor](#) Street, right?

A

Yes. It was said that the matter was settled and then the soldiers went back.

Q

It was Chöyang [tib. chos dbyangs] of Ling [tib. gling] who first requested that the Tratsang act as the guarantor. He said that he will bring along the Tratsang, right?

A

It was not Chöyang, but the Gegen of Chöyang who was the Chandzö of the Ling Labrang. At that time, Chöyang was a child.

Q

What is the name of Chöyang's Gegen?

A

He was called Simgag Gyatso [tib. gzim 'gag rgya mtsho] when he later became the Simgag of the Dalai Lama after he asked for leave from Ling Labrang. I don't have any idea whether he got along well with Ling Labrang. He was the brother of the [tsidrun](#) nicknamed, "Yes, you are right" Therepo [tib. de red spo bo]. The Chandzö also had a sister from the same parents called Wamo Thöndrub Drölma, [tib. wa mo don grub sgrol ma] who lived near the meat market. He probably served as Simgag for about 5-6 years. Then he resigned.

Q

Was this during Reting or Taktra's time?

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A

He was Simgag at the time of [Taktra](#) also. After he resigned from being Simgag, he stayed in the monastery where he had the title of Letsenpa and he would come to the [Laji](#) meetings on the rooftop of the assembly hall. Chöyang's [gegen](#) was called Thöndrub La [tib. don grub lags]. He used be the Söpön of the former Ling Rinpoche and also served the present incarnation. Then when he became old and became the senior Chandzö, Lungrig La [tib. lung rig lags] became the junior Chandzö. There were two Chandzö. Thöndrub La didn't have power because Lungrig La took the responsibilities. Later, at the time of the revolt, he was left in Tibet.

Q

You mean the Chandzö with the white hair?

A

He was not that white-haired. It was more greyish hair.

Q

When you came to Drepung, who was the abbot?

A

It was at the beginning of the term of the abbot named Gowo [tib. go bo].

Q

How did you get into [Tsha Khamtsen](#)?

A

In the past, my maternal aunt's husband who was called Tashi Tsering was from [Tsha Khamtsen](#). He was close to the late Tsaja who was banished. My grandparents were living in Taglungchang, [tib. stag lung byang] in Lhasa. Later our late [tsidrun](#) joined [Tsha Khamtsen](#) and became a Chöndze and then I also joined [Tsha Khamtsen](#).

Q

So actually, you did not belong to [to the region eligible for] Tsha, right?

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A

Yes.

Q

Which Khamtsen should you have belonged to?

A

Actually we were the [miser](#) of [Yabshi](#) Langdön, so we should have belonged to Kongpo Khamtsen.

Q

Didn't they complain because you switched from Kongpo to Tsha?

A

I am just an ordinary person so they did not argue. If I was rich, then they would have argued. Even for young and poor incarnate lamas, nobody would argue. But when you have wealth and reputation, then everybody will fight for you. This was the normal system.

Q

How many [khamtsen](#) were there in [Loseling](#)?

A

There were 23, and then later 24. Out of these, three were the bigger ones known as Chegasum [tib. che khag gsum]. They were called the three Nachen [tib. sna chen gsum].

Q

What were the privileges of the Chegasum?

A

I do not know.

Q

How many meduim ones were there?

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A

There were seven medium ones.

Q

Which were the seven medium ones? Wasn't Nyagre [tib. nyag re] one?

A

Yes. Then there was [Bombora](#) and also probably Triu [tib. trehor], Lhopa, [tib. lho pa] and probably Phara [tib. pha ra] were also ones. I forget the other ones. And then there were thirteen small ones.

What was the basis of this division into big, medium and small?

It was differentiated when they made the monks to do the [shöndre](#) (young monk's work). When some meetings were held, they would say that the big ones were obliged to send so many [monks to work] and the smaller ones were obliged to send so much.

Q

Who would do this?

A

This was mainly done by the Chabril.

Q

How many Khamtsen were there in [Gomang](#)?

A

There were sixteen and among them there were two big ones, Hamdong [tib. har gdong] and Samlho [tib. bsam lho]. The next ones were Gungru [tib. [gung](#) ru] and Bati [tib. sbra sdi]. These were the four [chabu](#) of [Gomang](#). Hamdong, Samlho and Gungru were called "seniors" (tib. drepa [tib. bgres pa]) not because they had seniority on the monk's enrollment list, but because they were the Chabu of [Gomang](#).

Q

Did they enjoy a government rank like the [Shengo](#)?

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A

No. The drepa were all Chabu. The Khamtsen [gegen](#) of Hamdong and Samlho enjoyed a rank and had a funny dress and they wore some kind of padding (tib. thopog [tib. mtho bog]) on their shoulders. On top of that, they wore a satin garment [tib. gos stod] like the [tsidrun](#) did. The [Laji](#) belonged to the bigger and medium [khamtsen](#).

Q

Among the [Laji](#), there were big, medium and the small ones, right?

A

Yes.

Q

How many Khamtsen did [Gomang](#) have?

A

They had 16, and [Deyang](#) had no [khamtsen](#) at all and had maybe only 500 or less monks. The fourth [college] was Ngagpa College and they had fewer monks than [Deyang](#).

Q

Gyepa [tib. rgyas pa] and Shagor [tib. [shag](#) sgor] didn't have many monks, right?

A

Gyepa and Shagor were part of [Loseling](#). Nyalingtsulsum [tib. nyag gling tshul gsum] -- Nyango [tib. nyag 'go], Ling [tib. gling] and Tsümei [tib. tshul smad] belonged to Shagor.

Q

Which were the ones that belonged to Gyepa?

A

Gyepa was a separate one.

Q

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What about Dingga [tib. lding kha]?

A

Dingga belongs to Shagor.

Q

How many monks did they have in Tsükhang?

A

The three, Nyalingsulsum, together may not have had more than 500 monks. As a part of [Gomang](#), there was Düwa [tib. 'dul ba].

Q

How many monks did Düwa have?

Q

They had only Gadong [tib. dga' gdong] Mitsen. They had Hamdong and Samlho also.

Q

Which was the highest decision making body? Was it the Drepung [Laji](#)?

A

Yes. Regarding the laws of the monks and punishments, the [Laji](#) had no business at all. That responsibility rested with the [Shengo](#) only.

Q

Who were the [Laji](#) members?

A

The senior most abbot, the Khenpo Tripa, [tib. mkhan po khri pa] was the chairman, and he was the most important of the [Laji](#) members. Then all the abbots and ex-abbots of Drepung were there. They were the most powerful ones. It was different [in Drepung] than in Sera and Ganden where only the actual abbots were involved, not the ex-abbots. Then there were the two [Shengo](#) and the Tsogchen Chemmo [tib. tshogs chen chen mo ba] [the

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umdze]. The two Jiso and the Phodrang Depa [tib. pho brang sde pa] were also there. This was the big [Laji](#) (tib. [Laji](#) Chega [tib. che khag]). They were the senior members of the [Laji](#).

The middle level, between the senior and the juniors, were the Khamtsen [gegen](#) of Hamdong and Samlho [khamtsen](#). Then there was a man called the Yarne Depa [tib. dbyar gnas sde pa] who would wear a satin jacket [tib. gos stod]. He was the person in charge of the summer retreats. One Parkhang Depa [tib. par khang sde pa] from [Loseling](#) and one from [Gomang](#) were the ones in charge of printing. There was s Tsomchen Depa [tib. tshom chen sde pa] and then there was the Chatsü Depa [tib. bya tshul sde pa]. These were middle level [Laji](#).

The junior [Laji](#), the chungga [tib. chung khag], were the Nangma [tib. nang ma], the Chabril, the Lama Migtsema, [tib. bla ma dmigs rtse ma] and the two Jama (tea makers) (tib. ja ma) of the assembly.

Q

Who would attend the meetings?

A

Only the big ones would attend the meetings. The junior and middle [Laji](#) had no business to attend the meetings except when a Tsogchen Trüku was joining the monastery or passing their exams during the [tonggo](#), etc. They gave gifts and at that time the [Laji](#) could collect income. So they had the titles, but they had no work. When you took the Geshe exam, you gave gifts to the senior, junior and the middle [Laji](#), but you may not have known it.

Q

All the respective abbots and candidates are selected by the monasteries themselves and then approved by the government, right? And their term is 6 years, right?

A

Yes.

Q

What about the chairman of the abbots?

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A

The chairman of abbot, the Khenpo Tripa [tib. mkhan po khri pa] was not appointed by the government. It went to the seniormost abbot and it had no time limit. The abbots served for six years and then they were changed. The Khenpo Tripa has no time limit. I remember that when Jungnela [tib. 'byung gnas] was the Khenpo Tripa, there was an old one sitting above him. He said his name was Khenpo Lobsang Tashi [tib. blo bzang bkra shis] and he had a goiter. He was the chairman, but due to his ill health he could not carry out the work so he resigned and they excused him and the next one was Jungnela.

Q

To whom did he have to ask about the resignation?

A

He had to ask the [Laji](#) to resign, not the government.

Q

The Khenpo Tripa was appointed by the [Laji](#), right?

A

Yes. The next was Gyepa Khenpo and then the Shagor Khenpo [tib. [shag](#) sgor mkhan po] who looked like a nun. When his turn came, he could not manage, so he resigned.

Q

Why?

A

Because he could not handle the responsibilities of a [Laji](#). He could not do it.

Q

What is the power of the [Laji](#)?

A

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Any disputes between the Tratsang or among the Khamtsen, etc. anything within the jurisdiction of Drepung could be settled by the [Laji](#).

Q

What power did the [Laji](#) have and what income did they have?

A

The [Laji](#) was the head of all the Tratsang and they would settle matters regarding the Tratsang.

Q

The disputes between the Tratsang were also settled by the [Laji](#), right?

A

Yes. They just advised them. They didn't have any punishments they could give. The [Laji](#) would also settle matters regarding which Khamtsen a person should belong to. The Drepung [Laji](#) would get the "general gifts" [tib. spyi 'bul] during the Mönlam Prayer Festival. Every person who gave alms at the Mönlam gave a rice load [rice packed in dried skin] that was about 40 kg [to the Laji]. This rice load was given by the [Laja](#) Treasury Office. During the Mönlam Festival, at each prayer assembly, there could be 50 to 60 alms-givers and every day there were two assemblies, so hundreds of rice loads would come to the [Laji](#).

Along with the rice loads, one long [khata](#) scarf called [nangdzö](#) and one [tranka](#) was also given to the [Laji](#). The list was made by a person called the Labrang Chandzö and one of the Chagdrung of the [Laja](#) would also note these down and later they collected them together and brought them to the monastery. Also, there was a request list for prayers (kyabtho [tib. skyabs tho]) at Drepung accompanied by a scarf and some money. This [khata](#) went to the senior [Shengo](#) and normally the money went to the [Shengo](#), but during the Mönlam and [Tsongjö](#), if there was seven and half [karma](#) for the prayer request, the [Shengo](#) had to pay double that to the [Laji](#).

Every night the Labrang Chandzö came to the Shengo's office to collect this. Every time if it was written 15 [sho](#) in the prayer request list, then the [Shengo](#) had to pay 30 [sho](#), i.e., double the amount. If there was any extra money that was not written in the prayer request, earlier this money went to the senior [Shengo](#), but later they changed this and

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divided the money. During Jungne La's time, it was very good. He kept all the rice and sold it and kept the money separately. He would announce suddenly that tomorrow there will be a distribution of money and he distributed it to the monks. He gave extra money if the incaranta lamas came personally, and otherwise he gave very little even to the [Shengo](#). When people give endowments to the general prayer assembly, this money went to the [Laji](#). If the [Laji](#) couldn't handle the money because there was too much money, it would be given it to the Jiso.

Q

Was this a practice even before Jungnela?

A

They were supposed to do this, but they did it only once in a while and then that was it. The [Laji](#) used to loan money to the Khamtsen and the Mitsen in the monastery and collect the interest. They would fix the date to collect the interest and give notice at least a month before the interest collection was due. That day would start early in the morning and they would read the list and then you just say I am here and give the interest. If you do not pay the interest, then they will scold you. The interest was collected without fail and on time during Jungne la's period, but before that, it was not done so well. Besides this, the [Laji](#) had no income.

Q

Where did the [Laji](#) meet?

A

They always met on the top of the assembly hall where there was a big room.

Q

How was the seating arrangement made? I have not seen it. How did they sit?

A

The abbot and the ex-abbots had the cushions called markyong [tib. dmar rkyong] which were thick with red cushions made from woolen material.

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Q

What sort of seat did the Khenpo Tripa have?

A

He had an extra seat (cushion) and it was higher, like 4 inches higher than the rest of them. There was a thick stuffed cushion [tib. 'bol gdan] covered with cotton cushion material called Sangkha [tib. bzang kha] for the Khenpo Tripa. Sangkha was made from cotton, but the design was like the multicolored brocade cushion called gökha [tib. gos kha].

Q

What kind of tables did they have?

Q

They used the table called bujog [tib. bu lcogs] which had legs but it was a standing table. Below the abbot there were the [Shengo](#), then the Tshogchen Chemmo, then the Phodrang Depa and then the two Jiso and then the last was the Tashi Khangsar [tib. bkra shis khang gsar].

Q

They all had equal sized cushions, right?

A

They had equal seats. If they could not fit in one place then they will start sitting on the other side.

Q

Would they serve tea when they assembled there?

A

They served tea.

Q

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Would they serve [pag](#)?

A

No. First they started talking, and then after awhile, they served [pag](#).

Q

The expenses for this were paid by the [Laji](#), right?

A

The Khenpo Tripa took the main responsibility for the [Laji](#), right?

Q

Yes. What was the responsibility of the Labrang Chandzö?

A

He was the one who did the miscellaneous work going hither and thither [tib. btang thung rgyugs] and asking the Khenpo Tripa what should be done. And he would also deliver messages.

Q

Where would the Labrang Chandzö stay?

A

He would stay in his own apartment.

Q

Where would this person come from? Did he come from the Tratsang by turns?

A

He came from [Gomang](#) and also from [Loseling](#).

Q

Would they serve by turns?

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A

No. This was decided by the Khenpo Tripa.

Q

So he was appointed, right?

A

Yes.

Q

Was he appointed once every year? Was there any term for that?

A

No. It depended on whether he got along well with the Khenpo Tripa.

Q

When the Khenpo Tripa was changed, would the Labrang Chandzö also change.

A

If he did well, he would still remain there. There was no term. When he didn't get along well, he would resign when he thought it was not going to be good.

Q

This was not the Lama Migtsema, right?

A

Yes, it was not. The Lama Migtsema came from [Gomang](#).

Q

What was the job of the Lama Migtsema?

A

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His job was to lead the prayer called Migtsema.

Q

Where?

A

On top of the assembly hall. In the morning, when they shouted the [chuke](#) [tib. [chu](#) skad], the Lama Migtsema would come and he would recite the Migtsema for one round of the prayer beads. He would have to visualize it.

Q

What kind of visualization?

A

I am not sure what visualization. He would do the visualization and when he finished reciting it, he would cough three or four times [tib. glo bsangs rgyag] to give a signal.

Q

Would he cough aloud?

A

He would cough so loud that the whole monastery could hear. Then he would hit the victory banner [tib. rgyal mtshan] with his rosary several times which would make the sound, "hreng hreng" which was also heard in the monastery. This was to alert the monks who were in their prayer session [tib. thun] to tell them that the person shouting [chuke](#) is coming.

Q

When they shouted the [chuke](#), would they first face the east?

A

Yes. Then they shouted it in all directions saying "ah ah ha " for a long time.

Q

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The Lama Migtsema's job was to recite the Migtsema, right?

A

He also had to deliver messages for the assembly. The Lama Migtsema should be a [geshe](#) from [Gomang](#).

Q

All the Khamtsen [gegen](#) in [Gomang](#) were allowed to become the Lama Migtsema, right?

A

Yes. They had to report to the abbot. The Lama Migtsema and the Lama Thungkar Butri [tib. dung dkar bu khrid] were appointed by the abbot.

Q

Would the Lama Migtsema have to stand when they serve the tea at the prayer assembly?

A

He would stand in the kitchen and when they finished serving tea to the monks in the front line, he would shout, "the front line is served" [tib. gdong gral khebs song].

Q

The Lama Migtsema was appointed when each new abbot started his term, right?

A

Yes.

Q

What kind of priveleges did the Lama Migtsema have? Did he get extra shares of alms?

A

Yes, he got three extra shares at the Mönlam. The Lama Migtsema had it difficult at the Mönlam because he had to stay the whole night in the Shengo's office [tib. nang ma sgang] and then had to get up before anybody got up. In the morning, two people who

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were on turn to fetch water [tib. [chu](#) res] and two other people would come and the Lama Migtsema also have to go to the prayer assembly. [from here there is a section where the recording is unclear]

And then he had to look at his watch and wake up the two [Shengo](#). When the [Shengo](#) went down to the stone steps, the Geyog had already gotten up. Then the Thabyog would open the door of the kitchen.

Q

All the abbots were appointed by the government, but the candidate names came from the Tratsang, right?

A

Yes.

Q

How did the [Shengo](#) get appointed?

A

The [Shengo](#) was done by turns: Two years from [Loseling](#) and one from Pöbashung in the third year. The Shengo's partner sometimes came from [Deyang](#) and sometimes from [Gomang](#) and sometimes from Ngagpa. [there were two [Shengo](#) at a time]

In [Loseling](#), which were the Khamtsen from which candidates for the [Shengo](#) position came?

They were Pöbashung, Nyango, [tib. nyag 'go], Ling, Tshümei [tib. tshul smad] and Gyepa [tib. rgyas pa].

Q

Nyango, Ling, Tshümei and Gyepa did not belong to Pöbashung, right?

A

Yes. The monks in Pöbashung were all [pöba](#) [tib. bod pa] [central Tibetans].

Q

Whoever wanted to could join Pöbashung, right?

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A

Yes. Except for Khampas.

Q

[unclear recording] Was Pöbashing a [mitsen](#) or a Khamtsen?

A

It was a [mitsen](#).

Q

Pöbashing was not included in the 23 Khamtsen of [Loseling](#), right?

A

Yes. It belonged to [Tsha Khamtsen](#).

Q

Would Tshümei and Dinga [tib. lding kha] let people from anywhere join their Khamtsen?

A

They only let people who belonged to their catchment area join the Khamtsen. Nyango and Ling would let other people join their Khamtsen.

Q

How did the candidates for the [Shengo](#) come from these Khamtsen?

A

Nyango and Ling would give one person's name in one year and Gyepa and Pöbashing also gave one person in a year. So once every four years, there will be one [Shengo](#) from these Khamtsen.

Q

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At one time, Gomang's Pöbashing and Loseling's Pöbashing served together, and Gomang's Gadong Misten and [Loseling](#) go together at one time. and Gomang's Pöbashing and [Deyang](#) go together. [unclear recording]

Q

Was there a Gyepa Khamtsen?

A

Yes, there was.

Q

This did not belong to the Gyepa Labrang, right?

A

Yes. Gyepa Labrang was a separate entity which was the [labrang](#) of the abbot.

Q

Düwa [tib. ;dul ba] Tratsang did not send candidates for the [Shengo](#), right?

A

Yes. Düwa's [Shengo](#) candidate went from Gadong Misten and Gadong Mitsen was led by Düwa. Gomang's candidate was led by the abbot. Loseling's Pöbashing's candidate was led by the abbot. Nyaling Tsüsum's candidate was led by Gyepa. The abbot would make the desision whether the candidate was okay or not and if not they would kick them out.

Q

What would the shengo have to do when he was selected, e.g., like doing an audience to show their physical appearance [tib. mi bab spyen zhu]?

A

At first they would go to the [Yigtsang](#), probably that was for showing their physical appearance, and then they would go in line on the stage of [Norbulinga](#). And then the four [Trunyichemmo](#) would come and they would go into a room where the Dalai Lama would

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come and the Dalai Lama would look at the candidates. Then the candidates had to give a kind of speech, [tib. tshogs gtam].

Q

What kind of speech did you give?

A

You can give one on any kind of subject, like on some prayer or on the discipline of the monastery, etc. I gave a speech on the discipline and on the summer retreat. In that year, I was the first candidate, so I had to give the speech first. [unclear recording]

Then they [candidates] go to the Dalai Lama's [gag](#) and when the [drungja](#) was in session they would serve tea and [tsampa](#) in wooden containers implying that you can have [pag](#), but no one would eat [pag](#) and they would give us 5 layers of the fried cookies [tib. kha zas lnga sder]. Then they would go to seek an audience with the Dalai Lama and tea would be served there and we sat in a line. Then the Drönyerchemmo came from the Dalai Lama's throne. Then all of us would stand up. Then all the [Trunyichemmo](#) would come carrying letters for the exam in their hands. And then we read the letters for the exam which contained different sizes of letters. There were three lines of cursive script and two lines of a little bigger letters.

Q

Was the Dalai Lama still there?

A

Yes. Then the second tea would be served. Then the [drungja](#) was about to be finished and the the Drönyerchemmo would come and the Simgag would say, "stand up." And the Drönyerchemmo would stand in the middle and the two Simgag would stand on the two sides, and the abbots would hold a [khata](#) called [nangdzö](#) [tib. nang mdzod]. The Drönyerchemmo would be holding the Dalai Lama's approval order wrapped in a square piece of satin. Then the abbots would prostrate three times to the Drönyerchemmo and he would give the order to the abbots, and the two abbots would come back later on. The abbots carried the order on their backs.

In the monastery, the [Laji](#) would assemble in the big hall and they would serve tea and [droma dresi](#) and they would also burn incense on the roof of the Jiso's house and the

assembly would blow the horns. The two abbots would bring the order wrapped in the square satin and put it on a container filled with wheat. Then they would serve tea and recite the tea offering prayer [tib. ja mchod].

Before opening the order, nobody knew who was the new [Shengo](#). Then the Phodrang Depa would stand up and take the approval order from the wheat and he would show it to all the people and then give it to the Khenpo Tripa and he would announce the names. Many people would come to offer [khata](#) scarves to the new [Shengo](#), but they were not allowed to come inside. Then they would draw lots as to who would be the senior [Shengo](#). If the [Shengo](#) from [Loseling](#) was a Gegö and the [Shengo](#) from [Deyang](#) was a Chöndze, the [Loseling](#) one would be the senior and if they both were ex-Nyertshang [tib. gnyer tshang zur pa] the senior one would be the senior [Shengo](#). If both were ordinary monks, the senior [gelong](#) would become the senior shengo. Finally, the abbot would decide who would be the senior and the other would be the junior. Then the two [Shengo](#) would be seated on cushions and the people would congratulate them. Then the old and new [Shengo](#) will be seated and they would put the approval order on a plate filled with wheat. Then they would serve tea and [droma dresi](#) and they would offer [khata](#) scarves to the new [Shengo](#).

[unclear recording] Then the shengo would go around the assembly hall holding incense [tib. spos skor] and then go to their own [shag](#) and celebrate and people would come to offer [khata](#) scarves and they would also go for a pilgrimage in the monastery. And then they would take off their dress and go wherever they wanted to.

Q

Tell me in detail about how the [Shengo](#) candidates serve by turns from Pöbashung and Tshümei? Only one shengo serves from [Loseling](#), right?

A

Yes.

Q

If the Pöbashung candidate got selected this year, who would get selected next year?

A

The candidate from Nyaling Tsüsum would be.

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Q

Then who was selected the next year?

A

Dingka would do it and then it would ne Gyepa's turn. [Gomang](#) and Ngagpa will be the two [Shengo](#) together.

Q

When [Gomang](#) and Ngagpa served together, there was no [Shengo](#) from [Loseling](#), right?

A

Yes.

Q

After how many years [of serving] would there be no [Shengo](#) from [Loseling](#)?

A

Once every four years there was no [Shengo](#) from Loleling. Similarly, there was no [Shengo](#) from [Gomang](#) once every four years.

Q

So there are [Shengo](#) coming from [Deyang](#) and Ngagpa only once every four years, right?

A

Yes. [Gomang](#) and Ngagpa would serve together as [Shengo](#) partners and sometimes Ngagpa and [Loseling](#) would also serve together.

Q

Gyepa and [Deyang](#) would serve together as [Shengo](#) partners, right?

A

Yes. Dingka and Gadong Mitsen seerved together as [Shengo](#) partners and [Deyang](#) and [Loseling](#) would serve together.

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Q

Except for the ones you mentioned above, the other Khamtsen were not allowed to be [Shengo](#) candidates, right?

A

Yes.

Q

The Dalai Lama was not allowed to approve a person who was not among the candidates, right?

A

The Dalai Lama wouldn't do that.

Q

It happened like that. For example, the abbot of [Sera Je](#) was approved although he was not among the candidates.

A

This must be a different case. The [Shengo](#) candidates have to take the writing exam and also give a speech.

Q

The abbot also had to give a dharma teaching, right?

A

Yes, but the abbots didn't need to take the writing exam.

Q

Where did the Chagdampa come from?

A

He was appointed by [Je](#) and Ngagpa. [unclear].

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Q

Deyang and [Gomang](#) did not send them, right?

A

There was no example of a Chagdampa coming from [Deyang](#).

Q

Why? What would happen if the [Shengo](#) of [Deyang](#) appointed a Chagdampa from [Deyang](#) and the [Shengo](#) of Ngagpa appointed a Chagdampa from Ngagpa?

A

Probably, it was okay. It didn't say that they were not allowed, but they didn't appoint them like that.

Q

The [Shengo](#) could appoint the Chagdampa based on his own choice. He didn't need to appoint it from Pöbashung, right?

A

I heard that they had to ask permission from the Yigtshang.

Q

When did it become a rule that they had to ask permission from the [Yigtsang](#)?

A

In the first year of the Reting regency, the [Shengo](#) themselves had this authorization. From the second year, this authorization was taken up [by the Yigatsang].

Q

So since then they appointed the Chagdampa from above, right?

A

The [Yigtsang](#) would tell them internally that so and so will be the Chagdampa.

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Q

How about during the 13th Dalai Lama's time?

A

At that time, he was appointed by the [Shengo](#), but during the regency it was changed.

Q

Under the Chagdampa, there were [Shingnyer](#), right?

A

Yes.

Q

What was there under the [Shingnyer](#)?

A

There were 19 Geyog.

Q

From where did the Geyog come?

A

Ngagpa sent two and [Deyang](#) sent two. If the senior [Shengo](#) was from [Loseling](#), they had 8 Geyog and the junior [Shengo](#) had 7 Geyog. And for [Gomang](#) it was the same. [Deyang](#) and Ngagpa always sent two Geyog.

Q

Did they calculate the seniority of the [Shengo](#) according to the monk's seniority?

A

No. They regarded the level or position they had as a monastic official (tib. [thön](#) [tib. thon]).

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Q

If both were Chatsü [tib. bya tshul], what would they do?

A

Then it went according to the monk's seniority. If both were ordinary monks, it went according to the who took the [gelong](#) vow first. If the one from Loseing was a Getsul and the one from [Gomang](#) was a Nyertsang, then [Loseling](#) one became the senior.

Q

Who was under the Geyog? Who appointed the Geyog?

A

The Geyog was appointed by the [Shengo](#) themselves.

Q

The two [Shingnyer](#) were appointed by the government, right?

A

The [Shingnyer](#) had to pay 29 [dotse](#) and 35 [sang](#) to the Chagdampa and 100 [dotse](#) to the [Shengo](#) as a "donation" for getting appointed. [Note: below this the recording was too bad to translate]